564 We must acknowledge that the [153] Enaden often have very open minds and are gifted with an intelligence higher than the average of the ma-
564 jority of the Tuareg. That is why
644 they have sometimes filled trusted posts with the principal chiefs, who have used them as emissaries or interpreters, indeed even as
[152] counselors.

Thus, at the time of the Hourst mission in 1896, Madidou, amenokal of the Ioullimmiden, officially delegated one of them to Gao to deal with the French officer.

564 The Enaden live either in camp
361 groups or in isolated tents or even individually; they are attached to a chief or a tribe.

564 Although they are foreign to the Tuareg race, they still enter into the components of the great family of veiled men, for the lives /176/ of the two groups are often intermingled. They speak Tamashek,
[198] more specifically a special dialect, tenet, which they alone understand and which is a bit secret in nature. This dialect is unknown in the Ahaggar.

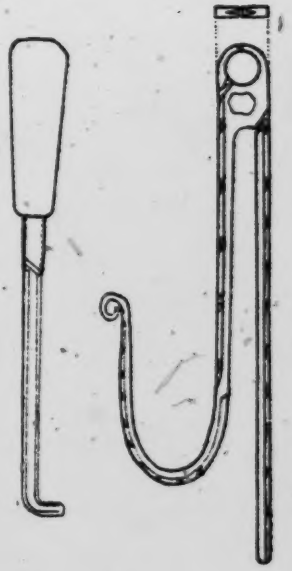

Fig. 17. Forceps for extracting teeth and instrument used for laying bare the roots.

[173] Legend attributes to them a common ancester named Tamamenet, and all of their fractions are supposed to have originated in Adrar des Iforas. Their true origin is as obscure as
[174] can be; we are apt to say that they are descendants of the Jews who formerly lived at the Touat, in the Tamentit oasis, from which they

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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[184] **Fig. 9. Vassal woman with her child straddling over the right hip. The Tuareg generally carry their children in this way though certain Ayr Tuareg have adopted the Sudanese fashion of carrying children on the back. Ahaggar, the *Ajjak-en-tekkî* tribe.**

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have expressed as their opinion that the blacksmiths originally constituted a fair-skinned Tuareg population who mixed with black-skinned Sudanese people like so many true Tuareg. It is interesting

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that Tuareg blacksmiths have a peculiar language of their own known as *ténet*. This language has unfortunately never been studied. It is used by the blacksmiths mainly as a secret language spoken when they do not want other people to understand them, whereas blacksmiths use Tuareg (*tamachek*) as their family language. The Ayr Tuareg consider the *ténet*-language an invention of the blacksmiths.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 10. Young man of the sedentary *Kel Ganet* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. He is yet too young to wear the veil which is used also by these Tuareg-speaking people of Ganet.

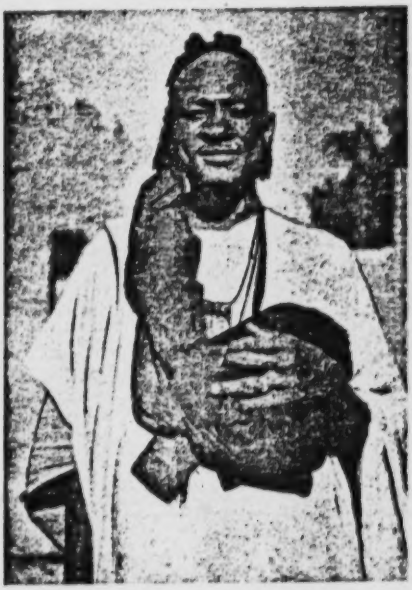

Fig. 11. Unveiled blacksmith. His racial features are predominantly negroid though his skin colour is yellow-brown rather than black. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

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From Ayr Tuareg who had much contact with blacksmiths I collected the following words of *ténet* language:—

ténet	*tamachek*	*English*
wochimbagen	*ineden*	blacksmiths
wosilkum	*echink*	porridge
tikulkumin (pl.)	*tikammarin*	cheese
ohundegan	*aman*	water
ogera	*éref*	head
tokonderey	*timezzugin*	ears
tedroragen	*tiiawin*	eyes

Prasse is of the opinion that the secret language of the blacksmiths is a kind of slang consisting of circumlocutions of everyday words, but derived from nothing but the local dialect itself. He suggests the following tentative interpretations of some of the words I have noted:— *wa chembeyen* = "the blackheaded one"; *wa s ilkem* = "the one it follows" or: "sticks to"; *agera* = "leather bag".

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

The Ayr Tuareg say that the blacksmiths do not have *ténet* words for everything, but always use Tuareg words for certain objects and animals. It is in fact possible that the *ténet* language has been created by the blacksmiths to be used as a secret language. This explanation agrees excellently with the social position of blacksmiths. They make weapons, ornaments, household implements, and the like for the Tuareg. The Tuareg therefore consider them indispensable, and admire them for their skill. But this is only one aspect of the Tuareg attitude towards blacksmiths who are also looked down upon because of their obscure origin and their predominantly negroid appearance. Furthermore, blacksmiths are frequently wearisome to the Tuareg. They claim gifts from the Tuareg on every possible occasion, and if they are given nothing when they ask it is believed that they can do severe harm to the persons from whom a gift is claimed. For the blacksmiths possess a mystic power known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ettama* or *tezma*. This mystic power has nothing to do with black magic. It comes into action automatically without any physical performance by the blacksmith if his demand is ignored. The *ettama* power is dangerous to children and to animals but not so much to adults. Children frequently fall ill with a swollen belly, while the effect on domestic animals is more severe and often causes their death. Though blacksmiths do not perform any physical act to put their mystic power into operation, they are nevertheless held responsible for damage ascribed to it by the Tuareg. This can be illustrated by the following example from Southern Ayr:— An Ayr Tuareg was on his way from Damergu to Ayr with a caravan of camels loaded with millet. One evening at dusk, when he was just about to lead his camels out for grazing at night, a blacksmith came to him to ask for a gift of millet. The Tuareg said that the blacksmith had better wait until next morning as it was already getting dark. The blacksmith went away, and shortly after his departure one of the Tuareg's camels fell ill and died. The Tuareg was convinced that the death of his camel was due to the blacksmith's *ettama* power, and therefore wanted revenge. He mounted a camel, pursued the blacksmith and killed him with an axe. This event happened only a few years ago. It illustrates how firmly many Tuareg believe in the evil *ettama* power of blacksmiths. In fact many Tuareg openly declare that they dislike and fear all blacksmiths. They do not like to associate with them except on festive occasions when blacksmiths frequently act as singers and musicians. The Tuareg never intermarry with people of the blacksmith caste, and even people of other negroid castes are reluctant to intermarry with blacksmiths. In Ahaggar a marriage may be contracted between blacksmiths and *Ḥarratin*, and in Ayr there are said to be a few marriages between blacksmiths and people of other negroid classes or castes. But on the whole the caste of blacksmiths (*Ineden*) can be characterized as endogamous. This is quite natural in view of the fact that blacksmiths possess the evil mystic power (*ettama*, or *tezma*), which I have described in more detail elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1961, pp. 134 f., 146).

Between fair-skinned, true Tuareg and other black-skinned castes but that of the blacksmiths, marriages are contracted now and then, and it seems as if mixed marriages of this type are becoming more and more numerous. In Ahaggar there are some marriages between Tuareg and women belonging to the castes of slaves (*Iklan*) or sedentary agriculturists (*Ḥarratin*, or *Izeggaren*) and there are even marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg women and negroid men though such marriages are less frequent. Mixed marriages are even more frequent in Ayr. The offspring of such unions are known in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer as *Iḅurelliten* (*Aḅurelli*). This word is also known to the Ayr Tuareg, but